

1 The early Reformation in Europe: a German affair or an international movement?

Andrew Pettegree

Viewed in retrospect it is in the years immediately after Luther first came to prominence as a theological writer that the Reformation appears most harmoniously and coherently international. Luther's writings certainly excited the interest of a wide international public: even the briefest glance at the contemporary comment on the 'Luther affair' leaves little doubt of this. Almost from the first months after Luther had begun to achieve notoriety in Germany, reports from across Europe testify to the intense interest aroused in his character, his writings and his fate. Thus, in May 1519, a Swiss student studying in Paris, Peter Tschudi, could note the avidity with which Luther's works were read in the city; even apparently, according to Luther's other correspondents, at the Sorbonne, later the relentless guardian of doctrinal orthodoxy.¹ In Holland and Flanders meanwhile, much of the intellectual community seemed to have been caught up in the new controversies, as the correspondence of Erasmus bears sufficient testimony.² It was probably from the Netherlands that numbers of Luther's works were also transported across the Channel to England, where they are known to have been read about this time.³ The scale of the intellectual interest in Luther's writings is captured in a famous letter to the reformer by the Swiss publisher Johannes Froben, who in February 1519 was in the process of publishing his second collected edition of Luther's Latin works. Froben wrote to Luther that he had despatched some 600 copies of this collection to France and Spain,

¹ A. L. Herminyard (ed.), *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française* (9 vols., Geneva, 1866–97), I, 47. Cf. Luther to Lang, April 1519 (a report based on the Froben letter cited in n. 4 below). WA Br. I, 369 (no. 167).

² See *Correspondence of Erasmus*, ed. R. A. B. Myers and P. G. Bietenholz (Toronto, 1974 et seq.), VI and VII *passim*; Also useful are the documents collected in P. Fredericq (ed.), *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticis pravitatis Neerlandicae* (5 vols, Ghent/The Hague, 1889–1902). Luther's books were reported on sale in Antwerp as early as April 1518. L. Knappert, *Het ontstaan en de vestiging van het protestantisme in de Nederlanden* (Utrecht, 1924), p. 162.

³ Erasmus to Luther, 30 May 1519: you have people in England who think well of what you write. *Correspondence of Erasmus*, VI, 392 (no. 980).

2 *Andrew Pettegree*

and further consignments to England, Italy and the Netherlands.⁴ Froben's remarks have often been cited to illustrate the scope of Luther's appeal in Western Europe, but it was clear that there was equal interest in the eastern lands. From both Bohemia and Hungary comes evidence of the profound interest in Luther and the German controversies.⁵

A generation later this cheerful unity of purpose – perhaps in any case illusory – would have seemed little more than a distant memory. In Germany itself Luther's movement had proved deeply divisive, but at least it had survived to achieve institutional form in established Lutheran churches. Elsewhere the prospect was much less cheerful. Perhaps the most striking progress had been achieved in the (to western readers) unfamiliar territories of central Europe, where Luther's movement had been able to build on a solid tradition of pre-Reformation dissent, and shield behind the powerfully entrenched local estates. By the 1550s, ironically, the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs played host to some of Europe's best established Lutheran churches.⁶ Scandinavia too, had by this time seen the establishment of orthodox Lutheran churches; here, in a different echo of German events, thanks largely to the intervention of a trio of godly princes. But elsewhere the promising beginnings witnessed in countries like France and the Netherlands had not been sustained. In these countries the evangelical movement had proved too delicate a plant to flourish in the face of sustained state hostility. By the time of Luther's death (1546), evangelical groups here were largely fragmented and demoralised. These years also witnessed the collapse of the reform movement in Italy, a surprisingly fertile mission field for the early reformers. Even in Switzerland, an initially powerful evangelical movement had brought conflict and division, its leading figures separated from the German Lutherans by a seemingly unbridgeable chasm of doctrinal misunderstanding. No wonder that the decade after Luther's death saw a mood of almost universal pessimism descend on the battered and dispirited evangelical reformers. Quite apart from the increasingly hostile international climate, the bold hopes of a universal renovation of Christendom raised in the first decade had proved wholly elusive: even in Germany reformers were now increasingly conscious of the apparently intractable problems which they faced if they were to bring about the

⁴ WA Br. I. 331–5 (no. 146). A partial English version of this important document is in Preserved Smith and Charles M. Jacobs (eds.), *Luther's Correspondence and other Contemporary Letters* (2 vols, Philadelphia, 1913–18), I. 161–2.

⁵ Below, chapters 2 and 3. The first translation of Luther into a foreign vernacular was in Czech: a translation of *The Blessed Sacrament and Holy and True Body of Christ*, dated 8 May 1520. J. Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie* (Baden-Baden, 1966), no. 514.

⁶ Chapters 2 and 3, below.

moral regeneration which lay at the core of Luther's initial call for reform.⁷

This pessimism was no doubt itself overdone, but it is clear enough that throughout Europe the evangelical movement had failed to live up to the initial promise of the first turbulent years. Why should this have been so? The failure of the evangelicals to convert the early receptivity to calls for reform into a coherent movement will be a common theme in many of the essays which make up this volume, but ultimately it is clear that none of the countries treated here could match the intensity of interest generated in Luther's own homeland. Nowhere was there quite the same potent brew of social, political and religious circumstances which so assisted the cause of the reformers at home. The purpose of this introductory essay will be to sketch these German circumstances; partly by way of context for what follows, but also to point up some of the contrasts and possible points of comparison between German events and the progress of the evangelical movement elsewhere. For it is clear that, for all the problems faced by evangelicals outside Germany, the movement retained throughout this period something of its initial international character. The impact of German events continued to reverberate around the European scene for all of this period, complicating diplomacy and confusing national loyalties. No corner of Europe was entirely safe from the resonance of the German controversies: even in Spain, a stronghold of orthodoxy, the Reformation would have a considerable impact on perceptions of faith and religious orthodoxy.⁸

To understand the reasons why the Reformation movement should have so quickly adopted so many divergent forms, it is necessary to return first to the years of apparent unity: the brief period between the publication of Luther's controversial theses and their official condemnation. It is arguable that even in this period the enthusiasm with which Luther's writings were greeted was owing to a mistaken perception of Luther as a new voice airing the sort of criticisms of church institutions which were common currency in educated circles. Put baldly, many of Luther's first admirers saw him as a humanist, an Erasmian, and as such Luther was able to rely on a sympathetic hearing from many of that loose international fraternity of reform-minded scholars who contributed so significantly to the international climate of the age. This 'constructive misunderstanding' was no doubt a large part of Luther's early international appeal. It was a misunderstanding which Erasmus himself partly

⁷ See here the debate inspired by Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore, 1978). Strauss, 'Success and Failure in the German Reformation', *P and P*, 67 (1975), 30–63.

⁸ Chapter 10, below.

4 *Andrew Pettegree*

shared. The great humanist first became aware of Luther's writings in 1518, at which point he gave them a cautious, if somewhat distant, welcome.⁹ Initially at least, his inclination was to defend the young men of Germany, who had as he saw it taken up the cause of liberal studies. Through 1519 and 1520 a stream of German visitors provided further flattering evidence of Erasmus' inspirational role in the evangelical movement. Although Erasmus' cautious encouragement was balanced by a growing anxiety to distance himself from Luther's more intemperate utterances, loyal protestations to Catholic patrons were largely ineffectual, for by this time the two causes, the defence of humanist learning and Luther's affair, had become inextricably linked in the public eye. Those who defended Luther looked to Erasmus as a mentor, and those who sought to damage Erasmus found Luther an increasingly useful pretext.¹⁰ The extent of the confusion was neatly epitomised by Martin Bucer, who, after hearing Luther at the Heidelberg disputation (April 1518), pronounced him the perfect Erasmian.¹¹

It was evident that this misunderstanding could not continue indefinitely, and indeed Erasmus' correspondence through 1520 testifies to a growing nervousness in the intellectual community as the church marshalled its defences. When in 1521 the great humanist withdrew from the Netherlands to Basle, it was at least partly to remove himself from the furious theological wrangles in which he found himself engulfed as a result of the Luther affair. Erasmus' reaction indicates that conservative theologians had by now, after a hesitant beginning, succeeded in mounting an effective counter-assault. In 1519 both the universities of Louvain and Cologne formally condemned certain of Luther's teachings, leading in June 1520 to the long expected papal condemnation, the provisional bull of excommunication *Exsurge Domine*.¹² These events, together with the secular condemnation of the Edict of Worms, stimulated a wave of book burnings: at Liège, Louvain and Cologne in October and November, 1520, and the following spring at Paris, and in England at London, Oxford and Cambridge.

The papal condemnation marks the first real break in the movement, for no longer was it possible to present Luther's teaching as part of a

⁹ Erasmus first mentions Luther's writings (without mentioning him by name) in a letter to Thomas More of March 1518. By the autumn he was confident that Luther was 'approved by all the leading people' and that 'his conclusions satisfied everyone'. *Correspondence of Erasmus*, V. 327, VI. 137 (nos. 785, 872).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI. 313, 350 (nos. 948, 961).

¹¹ A. Horawitz and K. Hartfelder (eds.), *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, (Leipzig, 1886), 106ff. Smith and Jacobs (eds.), *Luther's Correspondence*, I. 80–3.

¹² Provisional, as Luther was given six months in which to recant. He responded by burning the bull. Scott Hendrix, *Luther and the Papacy. Stages in a Reformation Conflict* (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 89–120.

theological debate within the normal parameters of scholarly discourse. Of course Luther continued to find support in the international humanist community: many were by now heavily committed, and others shared Erasmus' disapproval that the church authorities had chosen to proceed by threats and ban, rather than by reasoned argument.¹³ This, taken with Erasmus' refusal to write against Luther, left enough ambiguity to perpetuate continuing misunderstanding about his position.¹⁴ But others, faced with a clear expression of papal authority and the increasingly fundamental nature of Luther's challenge, drew back. Luther's protest was clearly no longer a movement, if it ever had been, which could be endorsed by the whole international intellectual community. By 1521 the best brains of England, many of them respected humanists, were enrolled into a commission to refute Luther's teachings, a literary campaign which issued in the publication of Henry VIII's famous *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, the anti-Lutheran tract which earned Henry the coveted title, Defender of the Faith.¹⁵

The fact that Luther had now to be seen through a new filter, that of a condemned heretic, inevitably made a profound difference to the way his writings were perceived elsewhere in Europe. Condemnation did not prevent the spread of the evangelical movement, but it certainly put a new and powerful weapon in the hands of conservative forces. Lay rulers could call upon the authority of the church in their suppression of dissent: evangelicals were consequently more guarded in their identification with, and promotion of, Luther's teachings.¹⁶ It was at this point that the movements in Germany and elsewhere begin most obviously to diverge. Whereas in most non-German cultures further evangelical progress became increasingly difficult, in Germany Luther's excommunication ushered in a period of expansive growth. A brief sketch of these German events may perhaps help clarify the reasons for these markedly divergent developments.

¹³ The view he put forward in a long consideration of the Luther affair in a letter to Albrecht of Brandenburg of Oct 1519. *Correspondence of Erasmus*, VII. 108–16 (no. 1033).

¹⁴ Well expressed by Albrecht Dürer, who having heard a false rumour of Luther's death after the Diet of Worms, wrote in his diary an anguished entry beseeching Erasmus to take up the struggle in his stead. W. M. Conway (ed.), *Literary remains of Albrecht Dürer* (Cambridge, 1889), 158–9.

¹⁵ Richard Rex, 'The English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 39 (1989), 85–106.

¹⁶ Most of Luther works translated after this date make no mention of Luther's authorship on the title-page. C. Ch. G. Visser, *Luther's Geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546* (Assen, 1969); W. A. Clebsch, 'The Earliest Translations of Luther into English', *Harvard Theological Review*, 56 (1963), 75–86. Useful surveys in J. Fr. Gilmont (ed.), *La Réforme et le Livre* (Paris, 1990); cf. Bernd Moeller, 'Luther in Europe: his Works in Translation, 1517–1546', in E. I. Kouri and Tom Scott (eds.), *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe* (Basingstoke, 1987), 235–51.

In Germany papal excommunication was swiftly followed by the secular ban pronounced by the Emperor after Luther's dramatic appearance at the diet of Worms. Although Luther's safe conduct was honoured and he was allowed to depart, the reformer was now an outlaw: to ensure his survival until the political situation clarified it was necessary for his friends to remove him to the protective custody of the Wartburg. Far from thwarting the movement, Luther's temporary isolation in fact prompted a considerable broadening, as other clerical leaders emerged to press the call for church reform. The years 1521–4 would witness a crucial transformation, as Luther's personal controversy was transformed into a widely based popular movement. The catalysing force behind this was a growing band of sympathetic evangelical preachers who boldly associated Luther's cause with a whole range of lay concerns regarding the current state of the church. Luther himself showed the way: both in his period of seclusion and after his triumphant return to Wittenberg in 1522, he addressed himself to a wide range of contemporary issues.¹⁷ The preaching ministers followed with fierce denunciations of clerical immorality, ill-discipline and church privileges, themes which spoke directly to the concerns of their lay audience.

These issues were the subject of an unprecedented polemical campaign, as printers all over Germany took to printing and reprinting the works of Luther and his followers. The economics of the printing industry meant that it was often easier to republish work locally than transport stock long distances, but these frequent reprints also provide eloquent testimony to the extent of public interest in the controversies.¹⁸ For this was the great age, not only of Luther's polemical writing, but of the *Flugschriften*, the short, cheaply produced pamphlets which sought to mediate the church controversies to a wide audience. Recent research suggests that the outpouring of tracts and pamphlets reached a peak during these years that was never again equalled.¹⁹

Preaching and printed works – in whatever combination²⁰ – soon began

¹⁷ For the Wartburg writings see Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther in mid-Career, 1521–1530* (London, 1983), pp. 1–50.

¹⁸ See the list compiled by J. L. Flood, 'Le livre dans le monde Germanique a l'époque de la Réforme', in Gilmont, *La Réforme et le Livre*, p. 40.

¹⁹ Hans-Joachim Köhler, 'Erste Schatten zu einem Meinungsprofil der frühen Reformationszeit', in Volker Press and Dieter Stievermann (eds.), *Martin Luther, Probleme seiner Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 244–65. A useful summary of various compilations of Reformation polemic is Mark E. Edwards, 'Statistics on sixteenth-century printing', in Philip N. Bebb and Sherrin Marshall (eds.), *The Process of Change in Early Modern Europe* (Athens, OH., 1988), pp. 149–63.

²⁰ For the debate over the respective contributions of verbal and written media to the communication of Reformation ideas see the contributions by Scribner and Moeller in Hans-Joachim Köhler (ed.), *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit* (Stuttgart, 1981). Also the judicious remarks in Köhler, 'Meinungsprofil', pp. 244–9.

to have their effect on public opinion in the sophisticated German cities. Nuremberg, for instance witnessed what historians have described as a massive outpouring of anticlerical sentiments.²¹ Evangelical ministers soon commandeered five of the town's churches, their efforts being ably seconded by the circulation of anonymous slander-sheets, and by monks who abandoned their cloisters to denounce the religious life. Traditional preachers were subjected to public criticism during celebrations of the Mass, and the old rites were openly ridiculed in mock processions. It was therefore little surprise that when the laity presented demands for reform, as for instance in 1523 for communion in both kinds, the civic elite (many of whom had revealed early sympathy for the reform) were forced into a series of measures to rein in the evangelical movement, and pre-empt more radical action. In 1525 the Reformation in Nuremberg was formally adopted. As in Nuremberg, so also in the other towns of Saxony, Franconia and the German south-west. In Strasburg a conservative council was forced to concede ever greater freedoms to a group of evangelical clergy supported by a substantial section of the city population. The reluctant endorsement of Martin Bucer's appointment as minister in August 1523 was followed in December by a decree that the town's ministers should teach nothing but the 'pure Gospel'.²² The speed of development depended to a large extent on the presence or absence of such charismatic local leaders, but even where there was no figure of stature the movement made steady progress through 1523 and 1524: this was the case at Frankfurt, Ulm and Augsburg, none of which yet formally adopted Reformation measures.²³

Thus, although it was only towards the end of the decade that the triumph of the Reformation achieved institutional confirmation in most German cities, it was clear that by 1525 the crucial transition towards the emergence of a popular movement had effectively been accomplished. In south Germany at least the movement had moved from its original epicentres, in monasteries and patrician and scholarly circles, towards being a coherent popular movement under clerical leadership. It was already robust enough to survive some heavy blows: necessarily so since the years 1524–5 witnessed the first serious crisis of the Reformation. These years opened badly when at the Diet of Nuremberg (January–April

²¹ Günther Vogler, *Nürnberg, 1524–5: Studien zur Geschichte der reformatorischen und sozialen Bewegung in der Reichstadt* (Berlin-East, 1982). Usefully summarised in his 'Imperial City Nuremberg, 1524–1525: the Reform Movement in Transition', in R. Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *The German People and the Reformation* (Ithaca, 1988), pp. 32–49.

²² Thomas Brady, *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520–1555* (Leiden, 1978).

²³ Heinrich Richard Schmidt, *Reichstädte, Reich und Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 68 ff.

1524) the Emperor's agents succeeded in enforcing their demands that the Edict of Worms should be more strictly observed. This represented a serious reverse for the evangelical leadership, which had previously sought with some success to appease progressive forces internally while remaining ostensibly loyal.²⁴ The Diet represented a distinct hardening of fronts and a retreat from compromise based on a common commitment to reform within the church: a trend dramatically reinforced when in 1525 Erasmus finally bowed to pressure to write against Luther and published his tract on *The Freedom of the Will*. Erasmus' writing and Luther's reply did not end connections between humanism and the evangelical movement – on the contrary, many of the younger humanists would ultimately remain faithful to Luther – but they did demonstrate with stark clarity that the Reformation could no longer be seen as an all-embracing and inclusive movement of church reform.

This, even more so, was the message of the Peasants' War, which erupted through Germany in these same years. The extent to which the rebellious peasants drew their inspiration from Luther was, and remains, a controversial question.²⁵ It is clear that from one perspective the uprising was part of a long tradition of peasant unrest, which had seen several widespread insurrections over the previous two generations, as peasants banded together to protest economic and social conditions which had deteriorated sharply since the High Middle Ages.²⁶ But it is equally the case that the evangelical movement unwittingly provided the common man with a new vocabulary and basis of action which allowed long-held grievances against clerical levies and abuses to achieve a much greater cohesion and sharper focus. The most popular of the peasant manifestos, the Twelve Articles, reflected this new confidence in applying the evangelical teaching both to specific grievances and in a more general claim for social justice based on the preaching of the 'pure Gospel'.²⁷

The rapid spread of the insurrection through south and central Germany shook the evangelical movement to its core. Luther's denunciation of the rebellious peasants appeared in a poor light after the slaughter at Mühlhausen, but his instinctive response was in fact shared by most of the magisterial reformers, who almost to a man swiftly repudiated the peasants' annexation of evangelical freedom to their own

²⁴ Schmidt, *Reichstädte*, pp. 130–52.

²⁵ Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525* (Baltimore, 1981). Henry Cohn, 'Anticlericalism in the German Peasants' War, 1525', *P and P*, 83 (1979), 3–31. See also now Tom Scott and Bob Scribner, *The German Peasants' War. A History in Documents* (London, 1991).

²⁶ On the *Bundschuh* risings see particularly Tom Scott, 'Freiburg and the Breisgau', in *Town-Country Relations in the Age of Reformation and Peasants' War* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 165–89.

²⁷ Text in Blickle, *Revolution of 1525*, pp. 195–201.

purposes.²⁸ The revolt and its aftermath inevitably brought a substantial re-orientation of the Reformation movement. The image of the peasant Karsthans, a stock feature of the early Reformation *Flugschriften*, now disappeared, as reformers opted instead for an increasingly explicit endorsement of the existing social hierarchy. But that the Reformation was ultimately able to survive so severe a crisis was a tribute to the firm roots it had already put down in German soil. The years after 1526 witnessed steady progress for the evangelical movement. Even the Diet of Speyer, held in 1526 in the immediate aftermath of the Peasants' War was much less of a disaster for the evangelicals than might have been expected: in the absence of many conservative representatives the Diet adopted a religious formula which allowed the evangelicals an unexpected degree of licence. The following years saw a further wave of important cities adopt the Reformation, including the previously less deeply penetrated north German towns.²⁹ Important princely conversions also contributed to the growing strength of the movement. By 1529 the evangelicals were sufficiently entrenched to risk a calculated act of defiance, the 'protestation', when the Catholic majority enforced a strict reaffirmation of the Edict of Worms at the second Diet of Speyer. The further developments of 1530 and 1531, the presentation of the Protestant Confession at Augburg, and the formation of the Schmalkaldic League, in effect confirmed what had already become clear: that the evangelical movement was now so entrenched that only military action could reverse the changes wrought by Luther's movement in Germany.

It was perhaps inevitable that elsewhere in Europe the evangelical movement would take many more years to achieve the same institutional security, even in lands where the Reformation eventually triumphed. In fact the essays which follow testify to the general difficulties faced by evangelicals outside Germany in converting the initial enthusiasm for church reform into a viable popular movement. What was it which made German circumstances so peculiar, and from the point of view of the evangelical movement, so uniquely favourable? Among the whole complex of factors at work, three stand out as of primary importance. Firstly, although the role of printing in the spread of the Reformation is generally acknowledged, it seems in Germany to have had a particular significance. The Reformation from the beginning was accompanied by a flood of printed works. The number of books published in Germany increased sharply from 1519, reaching a peak in the mid-1520s.³⁰ Equally

²⁸ Robert Kolb, 'The Theologians and the Peasants: Conservative Evangelical Reaction to the German Peasants Revolt', *ARG*, 69 (1978), 103–31.

²⁹ Schmidt, *Reichstädte*, pp. 268–74. For a detailed study of a northern city Reformation, Rainer Postel, *Die Reformation in Hamburg, 1517–1528* (Gütersloh, 1986).

³⁰ See the chart in Flood, 'Le monde Germanique', p. 51.

important, the Reformation itself exercised an important transforming influence on the physical shape of the book and the scope of the reading public. At one level the Reformation provided an important impetus for the emergence of the vernacular to challenge the previous domination of Latin. This appeal to a wider public had in effect been sanctioned by Luther himself with the publication of his sermon on Indulgences, *Von Ablass und Gnade*, in a German version as early as 1518. By 1520, this had gone through twenty editions, and in the years that followed Luther revealed himself as a master of this new form of public theological debate.

Countries elsewhere in Europe also developed a popular literature of the Reformation, but the range and depth of the German literature remained exceptional. This is only partly to be attributed to the high state of development of the German printing industry, with over sixty cities possessing functioning presses by 1500; a striking contrast with England, where regional presses were actually in decline in this period.³¹ The contrast with England is perhaps an exaggerated one, since the English printing industry was relatively backward by European standards, but even the sophisticated presses of the Netherlands had nothing to compare with the flood of evangelical literature produced in Germany. In the period 1520–46 Dutch presses published some 85 editions of Luther's works; a not inconsiderable quantity considering the perils of evangelical printing.³² But in Germany some 390 editions of Luther's works appeared in 1523 *alone*, and this was part of a mass of controversial literature published in these years. By 1525 there were possibly as many as 3 million evangelical pamphlets circulating in Germany.³³

The German passion for such literature was well known: Erasmus commented upon it as something faintly discreditable.³⁴ But in fact there was little of this sort of pamphlet activity anywhere in Europe before 1517. The work of R. G. Cole, confirmed by the painstaking analysis of Hans-Joachim Köhler's Tübingen project, has demonstrated that the *Flugschriften* were a type of literature largely created by the Reformation.³⁵ And it

³¹ The tiny proportion of English books printed outside London can be gauged from the new index volume to the *Short Title Catalogue*: A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (eds.), *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland ... 1475–1640*, revised Katharine F. Pantzer (3 vols., London, 1976–91), III, 207–12.

³² Visser, *Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden*, p. 188.

³³ Flood, 'Le monde Germanique', p. 52; J. Schwitalla, *Deutsche Flugschriften, 1460–1525* (Tübingen, 1983), p. 6.

³⁴ *Correspondence of Erasmus*, VI, 368–9 (no. 967), VII, 14 (no. 998): 'You know the restless energy of the Germans and their violence of character ... Look at the pamphlets with which they cut to pieces anyone who has done them an injury.'

³⁵ R. G. Cole, 'The Reformation Pamphlet and Communication Processes', in Köhler, *Flugschriften*, pp. 139–61; and his 'The Reformation in Print. German Pamphlets and Propaganda', *ARG*, 66 (1975), 93–102. Köhler, 'Meinungsprofil'.